Chapter I

THE COMMUNITY OF BANG CHAN

The Geographical Setting

In the populous flat central plain of Thailand where Bang Chan was located, fenceless geometric rice-fields, dotted by clumps of trees, stretch as far as the eye can see. Houses, clustering occasionally into hamlets, line the canals that serve for domestic use, drainage, irrigation and communication. A few mounded-up roads lead out from Bangkok, the national capital on the Menam Chao Phraya, the great central river.

The monsoon divides the year into three seasons: a hot and wet (late May through November); a cool and dry (December to mid-February); and a hot and dry (late February to mid-May). The temperatures range annually from 59° to 89° F. (15° to 32° C.) with monthly means of 77° to 86° F. (25° to 30° C.) (de Young:5). A drop at night averages around 18° F. (10° C.) in April, and 22° F. (12° C.) in January, while the relative humidity varies between 65 per cent and 81 per cent (Hauck, et al.:12). Rainfall averages about 50 inches a year, 40 of which fall in the wet season (Janlekha:21). Because of the run-off from the mountains in the north, once a year the Menam Chao Phraya slowly rises, fills the canals and then overflows its banks, covering the plain for hundreds of miles to a depth of three feet or more. In Bang Chan, the water stood on the land from June until January, with its peak in October. From February to May the canals ran low, and the land dried and cracked from the intense heat.

The Community

In 1954, 1700 persons (336 families) lived in Bang Chan. Muslims, comprising 10 per cent of the population, lived as fully Thai citizens in all parts of the community in economic and social symbiosis with Buddhists. A few ethnic Chinese had married into Thai families and were accepted.

The community spread over an area of about 7000 rai (1000 hectares or 5 square miles). Bang Chan Canal bissected

Chapter VIII

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[162]

CHANGES

In studying change in the customs surrounding childbirth in Bang Chan, we have D.B. Bradley's description of birth in Bankok in 1865 as a base-line on which to project our findings. Since most of the population of Bang Chan (Thai, with a few Laotians, Mon, Muslims, and Chinese) stems from Bangkok, we may reasonably assume that the parallels derive from a true historical connection. Bradley's description fitted Bang Chan as if written today:

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> "Siamese theory in regard to the part which external and internal fire plays in the functions of life and health is made to work powerfully...There is, at such times, a diminution of heat in the body, and consequent liability to stagnation of the blood, which, if not guarded against by fire, will leave the uterus flabby and enlarged, bad humors in circulation, a consequent weak state of the stomach, resulting in the secretion of too little milk, and that of a bad quality for the child, all of which will be likely to be followed by a host of other fearful maladies to both mother and child...[Thus a woman lies by the fire]... exposing all parts of her body, and more particularly her abdomen, to that drying process, so that the uterus shall be forced to shrink up quickly to its normal dimensions, and the sanguineous streams which had been diverted to support the child before birth, shall, by fire, be driven backward to their more usual limitations, all which is...a sine qua non to a sound constitution and good health in the future..." (Bangkok Calendar, 1865:78-84).

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Bradley showed that some behavior one might call "change" today was a recognized alternative in 1865. For instance, in Bang Chan a few women "are made too unhappy (klum) by the fire so cannot use it. They should take extra amounts of pickled medicine" (yā dong). Bradley wrote, "a few delicate females...who cannot endure [this] usual treatment, are compelled, against all their ...fears of the consequences, and all the importunities of their

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132 Bangkok. The tropical monsoon climate divides the year into three seasons, a hot, wet season from late May to November, a cooler, dry season from December to early February, and a hot, 361 dry season from late February to mid-May. The community, scattered over an area of approximately five square miles, was 161 composed of seven neighboring hamlets. In 1954, the population 162 was approximately 1700, divided among 336 households. About 60 per cent of the households were made up of independent families, parents with unmarried children, with an average family [463] size of 5.7 persons. The main occupation of 80 per cent of all families was rice farming.

243 The climate together with the overflowing Chao Phraya [13] river, provided natural conditions for raising a single crop [221] of wet rice. From May or June to February, the principal activities were those connected with rice production. This crop greatly exceeded the needs for local consumption as human food, [435] feed, and seed. The surplus of rice which was sold, was estimated for 1953 as 1.4 times the amount used for all purposes within the village (Janlekha, 1955).

346 Wat Bang Chan, the Buddhist monastery and place for re- 621 ligious exercises, was also the center of social life in the [795] community. When data for this study were being gathered, the one primary school in the village was located on the grounds of the wat. The community was defined simply by the clientele which patronized Wat Bang Chan and this elementary school. [563] Within the area of the community lived a small minority of Thai Moslems who patronized a mosque and school just outside Bang Chan. The few Chinese in the village were considered as part of the Thai-Buddhist community. Information to be presented [028] on food habits refers primarily to habits of the Buddhist majority, although some reference will be made to ways in which Moslem practices differed therefrom.

133 Although for six or more months of the year the fields 243 were covered with water, sometimes to a depth of a meter or 491 more, a year-round road, connecting Bangkok and Minburi, the 484 nearest market town, ran through one edge of the village. Bus 587 service was available along this road, to either Bangkok or [494] Minburi but within the community one went by boat on the network of canals during the wet season, and during the dry season, [503] on foot along the dikes or across fields. From late January through May, when subsidiary canals were apt to be dry, getting about was somewhat difficult. Boat travel was considered easy, but as many families had only one boat, a trip to the store or even to a neighbor's home had to be planned with reference to the activities of other family members.

443 Large scale purchases, as for a ceremony, were always made at a big market, but in general, instead of people going to the market-town, the "market" came to the people. Boat-venders brought not only fresh produce and staples but also sweets, ices, soft drinks, and cooked foods such as Chinese

What differences in circumstances existed that might affect nutritional level? On the one hand were relatively isolated nuclear families, which we estimated as 15-20% of the families, living in tiny separate cottages.[1] Usually with inadequate or no land, they earned an irregular income by hiring themselves out for farm or other work. At the other extreme, in a hamlet-like cluster of dwellings, lived a closely affiliated group of kin. A senior couple more or less headed the married sisters, brothers, or children, maybe with a hired man, or family that as autonomous households cooperated amicably in economic and domestic tasks. We estimated these as 20-25% of the Bang Chan families. The larger social unit, having more hands to produce, and to share tasks, was better able to provide good food and general health care to its members, than a small isolated family. Four problems more easily handled by the larger group were household chores and child-care, farming, borrowing, and earning money.

Young children had to be constantly tended lest they fall into the water, the fire, or under the buffalo's feet. They never entered the fields during work. Fishing and gathering of water plants was complicated because in boats, small children had to be held. Where there were but two parents and young children, one parent could not do many things until the other came home. Perhaps neither partner could stay away long enough to get a big batch of fish or greens from the canal, or go to the store. Cooking was simplified, or food might be prepared once a day only. Respite came only when the first born was able to help oversee a younger child, sometimes staying home from school to do so. Where the adult cooperative group was larger, movement was freer. All the strong adults could work in the fields or at a job, confident that the home was well tended. They came home to a well-prepared meal, ready when they wanted it. Such households had more fresh fish because farm work could be completed sooner, hence more persons could devote themselves to fishing. Some physically able members could even be spared and financed to go beyond the required four grades of elementary school.

Plowing could be done by a man and wife, but for both transplanting and harvesting which had to be done within a few days, large groups were necessary. Two patterns of auxiliary group labor prevailed: reciprocal cooperative work, and hiring of labor.

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1. Janlekha, 1955, categorized families as 5% "one-person," 59% nuclear, 8% limited extended (including one or more parents of a spouse), 27% extended (including dependent married couples or other collateral relatives), and the temple residents. At least 32% of the families had inadequate or no land. His figures do not indicate the degree of domestic cooperation which was an ameliorating factor in well-being.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

Houses in the village vary considerably in appearance: from the bamboo and thatch dwellings of the poorest families to the sturdy, great gabled houses of teak built by Bang Chan's original settlers to the tiled and corrugated iron-roofed homes of the newly rich. Most, however, follow the traditional Siamese pattern of being built on posts two to ten feet off the ground, mainly as a protection against flood waters. Many homes in Bang Chan give the impression of being permanently unfinished, the bamboo houses because they require constant refurbishment, the wooden dwellings because they are made of teak which seasons best when left untreated and exposed directly to the elements. The merging upper-class urban pattern of painting teakwood has not yet reached Bang Chan.

The major thoroughfare of the community, bisecting it in a north-south direction and perpendicular to the Bangkok-Minburi highway, is Khlɔɔŋ (or Canal) Bang Chan, which links with Khlɔɔŋ Sɛɛn Sɛɛb three kilometers south of the village. The latter, dug in the 1840's and originally intended as a military route to the Cambodian frontier, is one of several major canals dug during the mid-nineteenth century as part of the vast canal system that was constructed in the Central Plain when the region was opened for commercial rice production. Together with the highway built since World War II, a one-hour bus ride to the capital, Khlɔɔŋ Sɛɛn Sɛɛb, provides the villagers with their major access to Bangkok and the rest of the Central Plain. By motorboat a trip to Bangkok via this large, bustling canal takes approximately three hours.

Despite these relatively good communications facilities and the long-standing Thai peasant tradition to *paj thiaw* ("to go around"—for fun, on visits, pilgrimages, often for long distances) few people outside the immediate vicinity of the village have ever heard of Bang Chan. The community is neither a landmark nor is it located near one; it is not famed for any activities (other than having become the research site for the "American professors"); and because it is not a spatially integrated village, Bang Chan cannot even be found on any map of Thailand. Like most Thai settlements, Bang Chan has a Buddhist monastery and a government elementary school. It is these two structures that give the village its identity and the local people a sense of belonging to a community. People say that they live "at home in Bang Chan" because they make their merit at the monastery of Bang Chan and send their children to the Bang Chan school. Approximately five square miles in size and inhabited by 1,771 people living in 296 households (1956 village census), Bang Chan seems in physical appearance and social significance like the thousands of other communities that dot the rice fields of the great Central Plain.

To what extent Bang Chan may be considered "typical" in an analytic sense of other villages of the Mɛɛnaam Valley, or even of the country as a

BANG CHAN

FOREWORD

The Cornell Thailand Project, like other Cornell University studies in community development, is a long term investigation in the field of the processes involved in changing cultural behavior in a non-industrialized society. Field research was begun in 1948 in the central plain of Thailand with base line studies of the rice farming community of Bang Chan and its environs. A collaborating staff of Thai and Americans representing different disciplines has continued to work in Thailand at Bang Chan and elsewhere in a series of phases extending to the present.

The first interim report issued by the Project gives a general account of the economic, political and social organization of Bang Chan in 1948-49 together with some material on health and diet (Sharp et al., 1953). Since the circulation of this first interim report was limited, some of the salient characteristics of Bang Chan should be outlined here.

Bang Chan is located some twenty roadmiles northeast of Bangkok, the rapidly growing major metropolis and capital of Thailand. The village is between two and three miles west of a small district administrative center and market town, Minburi. A century-old canal and to the north of it a post-war hard surface road connect Minburi and Bangkok so that villagers have easy access to these two centers by boat or bus.

In 1954, when data for the present study were still being gathered, the population of Bang Chan was about 1700, divided among about 300 households. Roughly 60 per cent of the households were made up of independent nuclear families consisting of parents and unmarried children. The average size for all families was 5.7 persons. Rice farming was the main occupation of 80 per cent of all families. The population in 1954 worked and lived on about 2800 acres (7000 rai) of land. With the exception of some 120 acres (300 rai) used for the home sites and home gardens scattered along the network of canals in the village, all land was devoted to the cultivation of wet rice. Nutritional density is thus practically the same as population density. Of the rice crop, 60 per cent or more may be sold, the remainder providing seed, feed, and the staple food of the people. During the wet season and into the cooler dry season, from May or June to February, the growing of the single crop of rice is the main activity. The hot dry season from March until the rice planting begins again is a period of fiestas, ceremonies, and visiting.

The Thai countryside is divided into hamlets, each with a headman in charge of the thirty to sixty households of the hamlet. Seven such hamlets constitute the Bang Chan community. (In the Project studies they are identified by the initials BC and KY followed by a number).

and KY followed by a number.) The center of social life in Bang Chan is the Buddhist monastery or wat and the adjacent government primary school. The community simply consists of the clientele which regularly patronizes Wat Bang Chan and this school rather than other comparable institutions elsewhere in the region. Within the area of the community lives a minority of Thai Moslems constituting about ten per cent of the population. They have their own mosque which happens to be just outside Bang Chan, but they attend many secular and some Buddhist functions at Wat Bang Chan. A number of small stores, which also serve as coffee houses and men's clubs, are used as neighborhood centers in different parts of the village. Near the central wat and school, there is also a store, and the house provided by one of the headmen for use as the Project headquarters.

This present interim report of the Cornell Thailand Project includes some of the data necessary for the design of a program to improve health and diet in Bang Chan. Another report, now in preparation, will give the results of a detailed dietary survey made in the community following the health survey reported on here. These two studies together will indicate existing deficiencies in health and diet, and will permit the formulation of recommendations for needed changes in behavior as these can be realized in the context of the village and national culture.

The author of this study, Dr. Hazel M. Hauck, is Professor of Food and Nutrition in Cornell University. She has been associated with the work of the Cornell Thailand Project since 1950. She not only designed and supervised the research on health, nutritional status, and diet in Bang Chan, but during almost a year of field work in Thailand she obtained valuable data on many other topics for the Project's files. Some of her daily work in Bang Chan made little sense to the villagers, but they nevertheless became devoted to her. Her energy, tact and fine spirit in facing the discomforts and difficulties of rough field work in a tropical foreign land inspired both her Thai and American associates. Working with Professor Hauck were Dr. Amusith Rajatasilpin, now a teacher in the School of Public Health in Bangkok; Miss Sapha Indrasud, now in the Ministry of Public Health; Dr. Chumlong Kittiveja, of the Dental School of the University of Medical Sciences, Bangkok; and Miss Saovanee Sudsanoh, who has been doing post-graduate work in nutrition at Cornell and Harvard. To all of these faithful workers, the Cornell Thailand Project is greatly indebted.

Lauriston Sharp, Director
Professor of Anthropology

Southeast Asia Program
Department of Far Eastern Studies
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York
September, 1956

BANG CHAN

12 As advocated by the Joint FAO/WHO Expert Committee on Nutrition (1951), this study combined clinical appraisal with dietary surveys. The only laboratory tests done were for hemoglobin content of blood, and examination of stools for parasites. Suggestions for planning the schedule for the clinical appraisal were obtained from the report on the second session of the Joint FAO/WHO Expert Committee on Nutrition (1951), Nicholls (1951) and especially from Professor Dean Smith of the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine (1952).

125 Choice of physical measurements, and of procedures in making them, were influenced by a tentative list of specifications for anthropometric measurement, developed by the Committee on Anthropometry, Food and Nutrition Board, National Research Council (1951).

The schedule used for clinical examinations, and a description of procedures used, are included in Appendix A.

Sampling. - All of the children attending the Bang Chan primary school were examined. Three or four children who were listed on the school rolls were not present at any time during the period when examinations were in progress, and were considered by the teachers as non-attending.

Persons in a random sample of households in 5 of the 7 hamlets in the Bang Chan community were also examined. The two most outlying hamlets were excluded from the population to be sampled because of the difficulty, during the dry season, in getting to them or having them come to us. Of 230 households in the 5 hamlets, 31 were included in the random sample. Age and sex distribution of the 166 persons in the sample were roughly similar to distributions for the approximately 1700 persons in the village as a whole, as determined in the census of December 31, 1953. Following is a summary of the age distribution:

[162] [624]

Age in Years	Bang Chan, 7 Hamlets	Random Sample, 5 Hamlets
0-14	38%	41%
15-19	11%	10%
20-59	44%	41%
60 and over	7%	8%

[162] The sample included one Muslim family of 13 members.

In the 31 households, 166 of 184 persons, i.e. 90% were examined. Of the 10% non-response group, half were unavailable, for example away at work when the examinations were in progress. The remaining members of the non-response group

[123]

[See pp. 51-52--Analyst]

Cf Goldsen and Rallis Z-4.5 (1955) 1957
AO7 Central Thai AO7

APPENDIX B

Cornell Methodology Project
Thailand, May 1958

BANG CHAN STRUCTURED QUESTIONNAIRE (Frequency Distributions)

A. Ser. No. B. Hamlet and H C. Date of Interview D. Name of Respondent

F. Sex
9. male 213
X. female 90

G. Religious Affiliation
0. Buddhist 298
Y. Muslem 35

H. Main Occupation
8. Farm operator 249
9. Farm laborer 24
X. Trade and commerce 18
Y. Service 10
0. Other, Specify_____ 12

I. R is HH or not HH
1. HH 277
2. Not HH 56

J. If not HH, relationship to HH
3. Husband —
4. Wife 41
5. Son 10
6. Daughter 2
7. Father —
8. Mother —
9. Mother-in-law —
X. Other relative 3

1.a. Were you born in Bang Chan Commune, Khanna Yao Commune, Minburi Commune, or outside?

b. If outside, in what province were you born?

1. BC Commune 116
2. KY Commune 141
3. Minburi Commune 11
4. Commune unascertainable 2
5. Outside BC, KY, Minburi 30
7. Unascertainable 33

2.a. How old are you?
b. In what zodiac year were you born?
1. 20 to 29 41
2. 30 to 39 81
3. 40 to 49 85
4. 50 to 59 68
5. 60 to 69 41
6. 70 and over 17

b

27.a. Excuse me, but at present do you have a (wife/husband) who lives and eats with you, or not? [592] 125

1. Yes	255
2. Yes, qualified _____	6
3. No	72

b. IF NO: Excuse me, but is this because you are widowed, separated, divorced, or is there some other reason? [589] [586]

4. Widowed	45
5. Separated	9
6. Divorced	1
7. Other, specify	10
— No Answer	7

28.a. Your own children, all of them that have ever been born, how many are there? [592] [162]

0. None	26
1. One	38
2. 2 to 3	70
3. 4 to 5	76
4. 6 or more	133

b. How many of your children are still living?

0. None	29
1. One	50
2. 2 to 3	83
3. 4 to 5	82
4. 6 or more	97
— No Answer	2

c. How many of your children have died? [165]

0. None	199
1. One	58
2. 2 to 3	56
3. 4 to 5	17
4. 6 or more	9
— No Answer	9

29.a. Have you ever been ordained as a priest, or not? [793] [792]

1. Yes	187
2. No	31
— No Answer	1

[Male Buddhist (192)]

b. IF NO: In the future, do you want to be ordained as a priest, or not?

3. Yes	20
4. No	11

c. ASK ALL: How many sons do you have twenty years old or over? [592] [162]

5. None	176
6. One	56
7. Two	29
8. Three or more	29
— Unascertainable	43

50

125 19.d. IF A MAN HOME BO AND VP: Of your sons over twenty, how many have been ordained as Buddhist priests, or not?

[793]	7. DA	
	A. None	613
[593]	9. One	82
	X. Two	50
[792]	Y. Three or more	25
		18
[162]	e. Do you have any sons under twenty?	
	9. Yes	
	X. No	188
	-- No Answer	108
		37
[793]	f. IF YES: In future, do you want your sons under twenty to be ordained as priests, or not?	
[782]	Y. Yes	156
	O. No	—
	-- No Answer	1

g. IF YES: But aside from your admirable desire to have them ordained, in your true heart how sure is your expectation? Are you very sure or not very sure, or fairly sure that they will be ordained?

1. Very sure	110
2. Not sure	26
3. Fairly sure	12
4. Unascertainable	7
NA	1

h. All over Thailand there are some Thai men who are over 50 but have never been ordained as priests. For what various reasons might this happen?
(See code at end)

[461] 30. Suppose there was some work you could do individually, or that could be done in a small group of two or three, or that could be done in a large group. Which way would you prefer to do the work--as an individual, or in a group of two or three, or in a large group?

8. Individually	60
9. Small group	55
X. Large group	209
Y. Undecided, depends	4
O. Unascertainable	12

[572] 31. Around here in NC-KY there are some people who have many close friends and there are other people who have few close friends. And how about yourself? Do you have more close friends than most people around here, or about the same as most people around here, or fewer close friends than most people around here?

5. More than most	62
6. Fewer than most	96
7. About the same	154
8. Unascertainable	10

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

Population

161 A census covering all households of the seven hamlets defined as constituting the Bangchan village was made during the late months of 1948 and the early months of 1949 and was finally corrected and established for May 23, 1949. On this date there were 1,582 persons residing in Bangchan.[5] In a subsequent census made in 1953, the population rose to 1,694, giving an increase of 112 persons during the four elapsing years. Table 1 shows that there was not only an increase in the total population but also in the average size of the family.

While figures in Table 1 indicate an annual compound rate of increase in population of 1.7 per cent and an annual compound rate of increase in the size of the family of 0.5 person, these annual rates should not be accepted at face 161 value. It was observed that population moved freely between • 162 Bangchan and the bordering villages. The extent of migration to and from Bangkok is also quite large. Moreover, the size of the family depends on a number of factors, some of which are of temporary influence.

The preliminary study based on the village census of 1949 indicates that Bangchan was not troubled with a burgeoning population. According to that study, "Children

5. The population figure of 1,608 was reported by Lauriston Sharp, Hazel M. Hauck, Kamol Janlekha, and Robert B. Textor in "Siamese Rice Village -- A Preliminary Study of Bangchan, 1948-49." This new figure was arrived at after obvious errors such as duplications and omissions in the original census had been detected.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 69]

TABLE 1

POPULATION OF BANGCHAN IN 1949 AND 1953

161
162

Hamlet	May 23, 1949 Families	Persons	May 23, 1953 Families	Persons	Increase Families	Persons
BC4	43	250	40	236	-3	-14
BC5	27	136	28	136	1	0
BC6	44	251	47	270	3	19
KY5	54	305	63	356	9	51
KY6	28	156	31	168	3	12
KY7	43	231	42	250	-1	19
KY8	49	253	47	278	-2	25
Total	288	1,582	298	1,694	10	112
Av. fam. size		5.5		5.7		0.2

TABLE 2

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX
Bangchan, Thailand, 1953

• 162

Class Interval Years of Age	Frequency			
	Male	Female	Total	Per Cent
Young	(327)	(317)	(644)	(38)
0- 4	115	107	222	13
5- 9	98	107	205	12
10-14	114	103	217	13
Adult	(431)	(449)	(880)	(52)
15-19	84	102	186	11
20-24	87	77	164	10
25-29	57	68	125	7
30-34	45	51	96	6
35-39	37	43	80	5
40-44	41	45	86	5
45-49	44	34	78	5
50-54	36	29	65	4
Old	(85)	(85)	(170)	(10)
55-59	27	29	56	3
60-64	25	24	49	3
65-69	17	12	29	2
70-74	8	7	15	1
75-79	7	7	14	1
80-84	0	5	5	0
85-89	1	1	2	0
Total	843	851	1,694	100

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7 Bangchan

161 in the age group 0-4 years constituted 17 per cent of the
162 total Thailand population reported in 1937, yet this age group is only 10 per cent of the present /1949/ Bangchan population. The estimated crude annual birth rate -- 1/5 x children 0-4 years divided by total population x 1,000 -- is 20.3. This figure is slightly lower than the actual rate because infant mortality is not taken into account, but it may be compared with the following crude rates: Burma, 32.3; India, 33.0; Philippines, 32.4; United States, 17.9, all for 1939; and Federal Malay States, 39.7, for 1940. The Bangchan fertility ratio -- children 0-4 years divided by females 20-44 years multiplied by 1,000 -- is 620, actually less than the fertility ratio of 752 for the United States rural native white population in 1950.[6] This somewhat optimistic picture fades, however, in the light of the data of the 1953 census of the same population taken only four years later. From Table 2 the crude birth rate as of this later date may be estimated at 26.2, approaching those of prewar Burma, India and Philippines, while the fertility ratio has now become 779, a gain of 159 placing it higher than that of the 1950 United States rural native white population. These abrupt increases in the figures for birth rate and fertility ratio in themselves are not of much statistical significance, since the population is small and infant mortality and migration factors are not considered.

6. Lauriston Sharp, Hazel M. Hauck, Kamol Janlekha, and Robert B. Textor, Siamese Rice Village -- A Preliminary Study of Bangchan, 1948-49 (Bangkok: Aksonlit Printing Press, 1954), p. 25.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

597 621 593 As of 1953 seven adopted children were reported to be living in Bangchan. Since only those mentioned by family heads as their adopted children were so recorded and since some of the information on family members were not given directly by the family heads, it is possible that there might be some more adopted children who appeared in the 1953 census as nephews or nieces. The authenticity of the term 'adopted child' as used in the village is nevertheless rather questionable. There has never been such a practice like legal registration of adopted children in the village, although this is provided by law. Moreover, maltreatment of an adopted child was not unheard of. In 1952 one family head reported that his adopted daughter had "run away" to Bangkok. In 1953 a young widow, an adopted daughter of an operator of a coffee shop in the village, also "ran away". When her whereabouts became known, no effort was made by the foster parents to return to the woman her golden necklace valued at one thousand baht. Later she was forced back home, being beaten all the way in spite of her complaint that she was pregnant. It was also not infrequent that an adopted child left his foster parents and took residence as a dependent relative in another family in the neighborhood. Such incidents points toward the possibility of 'adopted child' being used as a nom de grace for a prospective free family laborer.

162 592 621 Table 4 shows that with the exception of the ecclesiastical family the size of families in Bangchan ranges from one to fourteen, averaging 5.7 persons per family. This

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 66]

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

TABLE 4

DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY SIZE
Bangchan, Thailand, 1953

• 162
592
621

Family Size	Frequency	Per Cent
One-person family	16	5.4
Two-man family	18	6.0
Three-man family	34	11.4
Four-man family	35	11.7
Five-man family	43	14.4
Six-man family	48	16.1
Seven-man family	38	12.8
Eight-man family	26	8.7
Nine-man family	23	7.7
Ten-man family	10	3.4
Eleven-man family	1	0.3
Twelve-man family	2	0.7
Thirteen-man family	2	0.7
Fourteen-man family	1	0.3
[942] Forty-one-man family*	1	0.3
Total	298	100.0
Mean	5.7	
Median	6	

* Ecclesiastical family.

• 162 592 621 average size of family in 1953 is slightly larger than that calculated from the 1949 census.

Disappearance of Some Families from Bangchan

162 178 592 621 When the 1949 and 1953 censuses are paired hamlet by hamlet, appearance of new families and disappearance of some of the old families may be detected. Table 5 shows that during the four years between 1949 and 1953 forty-three families had disappeared from the lists of the seven hamlets constituting Bangchan. This loss was compensated by fifty-three new families, giving a net gain of ten families. In other words, of 288 families existing in 1949, 245 families remained throughout the period. When 53 new families were added to the continuing 245 families, a new total of 298 families was arrived at for 1953. A closer examination, however, will reveal that there were five families which disappeared from one hamlet only to appear in another hamlet of the same Bangchan village. If the seven hamlets are to be considered as one geographical unit, these five families should be deducted from both the disappeared and new families, giving a net disappearance of 38 families and a net appearance of 48 new families, while the number of continuing families becomes 250.

[166] Of 38 families which disappeared from Bangchan, 27 moved out to other villages nearby or afar, while 11 were disintegrated or simply annexed by other families in Bangchan itself.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 68]

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TABLE 5

CHANGES IN NUMBER OF BANGCHAN FAMILIES FROM 1949 TO 1953

Hamlet	Number 1949	Number 1953	Continuing			Disappeared				New			
			Total	(1)	(2)	Total	(1)	(2)	(3)	Total	(1)	(2)	(3)
BC4	43	40	32	32	0	11	6	0	5	8	3	1	4
BC5	27	28	24	18	6	3	2	1	0	4	1	0	3
BC6	44	47	38	36	2	6	4	0	2	9	4	1	4
KY5	54	63	45	40	5	9	6	1	2	18	13	2	3
KY6	28	31	27	26	1	1	0	1	0	4	0	1	3
KY7	43	42	37	33	4	6	5	1	0	5	3	2	0
KY8	49	47	42	36	6	7	4	1	2	5	3	0	2
Total	288	298	245	221	24	43	27	5	11	53	27	5	21

Explanation

Continuing (1) . . same family head
Continuing (2) . . different family head

Disappeared (1). . moved out of the village
Disappeared (2). . moved to other hamlet in the village
Disappeared (3). . disintegrated or annexed by other family

New (1). . . . . moved into the village from other village
New (2). . . . . moved in from other hamlet of the village
New (3). . . . . separated from other family in the village.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

178 to which surviving elements of the disappearing families
592 were subsequently attached. It was noticed that in the
621 last four cases -- Cases 8, 9, 10, and 11 -- merging with new families was arranged on the basis of mutual convenience, and the disappearing families moved en masse into the new ones (with the exception of Case 10 -- a lone woman when arrangement for merging was being made). It may even be said that the initiative came from the receiving families, although the new members may have been more anxious for the union. In the remaining six cases -- Cases 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 7 -- there was no element of mutual convenience, and the surviving elements of the disappearing families did not move into new families as a body but as an individual. It seemed in these latter cases that the force of circumstances -- death or extreme poverty -- had prompted either party, usually the disintegrating elements, to seek the union as a quick way out. Because of the purposive nature of the arrangement in the former cases, the process may be called 'annexation'; while for want of a proper term, the process seen among the latter cases will be called 'disintegration'.

[162] [423] [464] None of the eleven cases undergoing disintegration or annexation owned landed property. Table 6 shows that six of these were farm laboring families. The five others were distributed among the following occupational groups: farm operator, public servant, and no occupation.

[166] Among the 27 families that moved out of Bangchan, eleven families were known to be living in the bordering

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 75]

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

TABLE 6

DISINTEGRATION AND ANNEXATION OF FAMILIES
Bangchan, Thailand, 1949-53

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Case	Occupation	Landed Property	Immediate Cause	Number of Surviving Elements	Number of Attached Families
Disintegration:					
1.	F. laborer	no	poverty	11	4
2.	Public servant	no	death	1	1
3.	F. laborer	no	death	2	2
4.	F. operator	no	death	1	1
5.	F. laborer	no	death	5	3
6.	no occupation	no	death	0	0
7.	F. laborer	no	death	2	2
Annexation:					
8.	Public servant	no	convenience	4	1
9.	F. laborer	no	convenience	3	1
10.	F. operator	no	convenience	1	1
11.	F. laborer	no	marriage	3	1

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

243 farm operators who hired regular laborers did so because
464 full utilization of the effort of all the family workers was not adequate. This assumption would seem to be reasonable in view of the rather high cost of hiring such laborers. It was concluded, then, that some farms in the community were below optimum size for the number of workers in the family.[11]

243 This condition of farm under-employment is our basic
464 assumption in discussing rent rates in Bangchan. With an
161 increase in population in an area where farm operating is
178 the core around which other less important occupations rotate, it may be reasoned that the aggregate demand for rice land in 1952 was at least as high as that in 1948 if not greater. As for the extent of under-employment of farm labor, it is interesting to note that the number of families directly engaged in rice farming, the farm operating and farm laboring families, was 256 in 1949 and 254 in 1953. With a constant supply of land (in the popular sense of the term), this more or less constant number of families directly engaged in rice farming indicated that the extent of farm under-employment in 1952 was just about the same as that in 1948. Although the average size of the family was found to be slightly smaller in 1953,[12] that slight decrease was certainly not large enough to materially affect the situation.

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11. Sharp et al., op. cit., p. 158.

[162] 12. The average size of the family was 5.7 in 1949, and 5.5 in 1953.

369 It should be noted also that once a villager has moved
167 into Bangkok he will be deprived of the privilege to
162 acquire free food from nature -- an important economic advantage of living in the village which counts heavily when emigration to the city is being seriously contemplated.

427 It is seen, then, that the demand for land on the
423 part of land-thirsty operators -- the tenants, part-owners, and owner-operators -- was high and inelastic, while the demand for land on the part of land-saturated landlord-operators was low and elastic. Since the combined demand of all landlord-operators constituted only a small fraction of the total demand (Table 20), it may be safely concluded that the aggregate demand for land in Bangchan at the period we are dealing with was high and inelastic.

311 Let us now consider the supply side of land. For
423 the purpose of this discussion we may differentiate four
427 sources of supply of a total of 6,722 rai considered to
463 represent our natural Bangchan area. They are:

1. Land-thirsty operators -- all for implicit rent.	
a, Owner-operators	2,131 rai
b, Part-owners	227 rai
c, Tenants	225 rai
Sub-total	2,583 rai
2. Land-saturated operators (landlord-operators).	
a, For implicit rent	517 rai
b, For explicit rent	683 rai
Sub-total	1,220 rai
3. Local non-operators -- all for explicit rent.	
a, Traders	189 rai
b, Investors	149 rai
c, Public servants	165 rai
Sub-total	503 rai

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

125 it would deny any benefit that would arise out of continuous observation of each farm and farm operator through a series of years. With a view to retaining this benefit of continuity, we decided to adopt the first method -- that,is, we included in the sample the ten new families branching out from the original sample-families. Thus, in our subsequent study in 1952 the size of our sample became 106 farm operating families.

There were, however, some types of data which involved records in the past four or five years, such as harvested crop during 1948-52, accumulation of wealth, major receipts and expenses during the same period. In these cases we naturally used the continuing sample of 96 families.

*243 Composition of Farm Operating Families

• 162 Table 31 shows that the size of the farm operating
592 family decreased from 6.3 in 1948 to 5.7 in 1952. It also shows that, while the number of adults remained more or less constant, the decrease in the size of the family was due almost entirely to the decrease in the number of the young from 2.5 in 1948 to 2.0 in 1952.

*243 A possible explanation for this lies in the economic
162 consequence of the war. Strict government control of the
592 price of rice and of the internal movement of paddy during
182 the war and also in the immediate postwar period has so
178 adversely affected the economic condition of rice farmers
[582] that marriage has often been postponed. In cases where

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 182]

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TABLE 31

COMPOSITION OF FARM OPERATING FAMILIES
Bangchan, Thailand, 1948 and 1953

Year	Number of Families	People Included			Average Family Composition		
		Young*	Adult**	Total	Young*	Adult**	Total
1948	104	256	398	654	2.5	3.8	6.3
1952	106	215	391	606	2.0	3.7	5.7

* Age 14 years and under.

** Age over 14 years.

7: Jānlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

243 162 178 592 182 [582] marriage did take place, the couple were usually obliged to stay with the parents of either the husband or the wife. It is reasonable to believe that the nascent period was prolonged during this period of hard times. Thus, the family size tended to be larger than it normally is. This is especially true for rice farming families where there always is some work for members able to work. It is not surprising, then, that the average size of farm operating families in Bangchan was 6.3 in 1948 while the average size of all families was 5.7 according to the 1949 census. A steady rise in the price of paddy after the war has improved the economic condition of rice farmers. The increased income, however, had to be spent first on replacement of equipment and housing facilities which had been long overdue. [792] Finally, the bumper crop of 1948 with an ever-increasing price put an end to farm misery, and the following dry season saw a record number of newly ordained priests and [591] merit making activities. From then on proportionately more marriages took place and there were fewer economic obstacles to keep newly wed couples from starting out independently. The combined effect of termination of prolonged nascent period and freer establishment of new families was that the size of the farm operating family was considerably reduced.

16 It may seem strange that more marriages should bring about a drop in the number of the young from 2.5 per family in 1948 to 2.0 in 1952. By the young is meant, however,

243 except for the question of some of these adults being tied
178 up with other jobs. Nevertheless, when limited job oppor-
592 tunity was considered, it was unlikely that this last
128 factor would appreciably affect the estimate. It was assumed, therefore, that 313 out of the total of 391 adults in our 106 sample-families, or an average of 3.0 persons per family, were working members in 1952.

[162] Table 32 shows that the size of farm operating families in 1952 ranged from one to thirteen, averaging 5.7, the median being 6. Eighty-six of these 106 families, or 81 per cent, had a size between three and eight.

Training for Farm Work

243 Every adult in the village of both sexes is expected
462 to be able to do farm work. This includes the ability to perform the following jobs.

Minimum standard: Every step of rice production except uprooting of rice seedlings which is performed only by adult males (for various steps of rice production, see the chapter on farm technology); digging and mounding; paddling and rowing; hauling except a heavy load like gas engines; tending the buffaloes and livestock; gardening; pounding of cargo rice for consumption during the work season; fishing by line-and-hook, dipping net, and trap; food preparation.

In addition to the minimum standard listed above for both male and female adults, male adults are expected to be able to perform the following jobs: Uprooting of rice

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 187]

TABLE 32

DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY SIZE 106 FARM OPERATING FAMILIES
Bangchan, Thailand, 1953

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Family Size	Number of Families
1	2
2	4
3	15
4	16
5	17
6	12
7	14
8	12
9	8
10	4
11	1
12	0
13	1
Total	106
Mean size	5.7
Median size	6.0